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ABSTRACT

Citing the absence of research on race relations in rural America, this study reports on race relations in rural Missouri. Boonville and Cooper County are described and the problems faced by blacks in the schools and in obtaining housing and employment are explored. The accessibility of locally and Federally funded services is analyzed. Conclusions, findings, and recommendations are included. (Author/EB)

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Race Relations in Cooper County, Missouri—1978

—A report prepared by the Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

May 1979

ED177233

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Letter of Transmittal

Missouri Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
May 1979

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
Arthur S. Flemming, *Chairman*
Stephen Horn, *Vice Chairman*
Frankie Freeman
Manuel Ruiz, Jr.
Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, *Staff Director*

Sirs and Madam:

The Missouri Advisory Committee submits this report of its investigation of race relations in Boonville and Cooper County, Missouri, as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission about civil rights problems within the State.

During our 18-month investigation, the Advisory Committee examined all aspects of race relations in the area, including housing, schools, employment, provision of public services, and utilization of Federal funds.

The Advisory Committee noted that the literature on race relations in rural areas is sparse. What literature exists emphasizes the inhibitions against effective communication between blacks and whites. The Advisory Committee recommends that the city of Boonville and Cooper County establish a human relations council.

The Advisory Committee found that the proportion of black families needing housing assistance is greater than their share of the population. It also found that the housing programs in the area need to be strengthened. It urges that the Boonville Housing Authority seek technical assistance from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Mid-Missouri Regional Council of Governments to remedy deficiencies in the Boonville public housing program. It also urges that the Boonville Housing Authority take steps to ensure that the whole range of housing services is available to those who need them.

The Advisory Committee found that the Boonville schools are desegregated. But it found that interracial communication is a problem. The Advisory Committee urges that the school system make a far greater effort to hire black teachers and establish an effective communication network between the schools and the black community.

The Advisory Committee found that some employers have adequately utilized blacks at all job levels, but most have not. It urges that all jobs be advertised and that where applicable employers develop effective affirmative action programs, including goals and timetables. It particularly calls for action by the county government, whose hiring record compared to that of the city is inadequate.

The Advisory Committee found that, partially as a result of past discrimination, blacks in Boonville and Cooper County do have significant needs for social and economic services. The Advisory Committee recommends that the allocation of the Federal funds over which the city and county have control be adjusted to increase the proportion available for programs serving minorities and the poor.

The Advisory Committee found that citizens generally did not know where to turn to find out what local governments could or should do with Federal funds.

The Advisory Committee recommends that the Mid-Continent Federal Regional Council sponsor forums around the State so that citizens can be better informed about federally-funded programs.

We urge you to support our recommendations and to assist the Advisory Committee in followup activities.

Respectfully,

Joanne Collins, *Chairperson*
Missouri Advisory Committee

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*No longer a member of the Advisory Committee.
**Now a member of the Georgia Advisory Committee.
***Not a member of the Advisory Committee when this report was approved.

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The Missouri Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Central States Regional Office, Kansas City, Missouri, for its help in the preparation of this report.

The investigation and report were the principal staff assignment of Etta Lou Wilkinson with assistance from Ascension Hernandez and Melvin L. Jenkins and support services from Jo Ann Daniels and Gloria O'Leary. The report was written by Malcolm Barnett. Legal sufficiency review was conducted by Melvin Jenkins, Esq. The project was undertaken under the overall supervision of Thomas L. Neumann, Director, Central States Regional Office.

The staff of the Publications Support Center, Office of Management, was responsible for final preparation of the document for publication.

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1. Introduction

In 1965 A. Lee Coleman, president of the Rural Sociological Society, devoted his presidential address to the absence of research on race relations in rural America.[1] He noted that race relations had been ignored completely in the principal texts on rural sociology. Furthermore, he pointed out, during the first 20 years in which *Rural Sociology* had been published there had been only six articles about blacks and six about other ethnic groups, but few of these had focused on intergroup relations. In the succeeding 10 years not much had changed—there had been one paper on ethnic minorities every 2 years. Similarly, Professor Coleman found that the literature on race relations, although full of descriptions of race relations in rural America, contained little analysis of the problems.[2]

Professor Coleman offered several explanations for the neglect of race relations by the professionals. To some extent, he stated, rural sociology has been the province of midwesterners and there are few rural blacks, Jews, or Asian Americans in the Midwest. Professor Coleman noted that in the Southern States:

> It would probably be an oversimplification to say that rural sociologists or those working in the South have been *afraid* to study race relations; but their employment mainly in State land grant colleges has no doubt been a strong deterrent. Despite the reform beginnings of these colleges and the reform heritage of rural sociologists, it is probably fair to say that these institutions and the rural sociologists working in them have become quite conservative in recent decades so far as involvement in controversial issues is concerned. . . .Then we had a warning, if not a validation of the position many had already taken, in the well-known instance when the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Division of Farm Population and Rural Life was prohibited from making "cultural studies," because of the unfortunate race relations statement in a publication.[3]

Since Professor Coleman's address, little has changed. A review of the standard bibliographical indices on race relations from 1965 to the present shows one article and one convention paper.

The classic study of race relations in rural America remains John Dollard's *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* that was first published in the late 1930s.[4] The study's central thesis is that two class structures exist—one for whites and one for blacks, but in which blacks in any given social class are always inferior to whites in a comparable class and there is a substantial separation between the two ethnic groups.[5]

Summarizing the literature from 1940 to 1965, Professor Coleman noted that:

> Rural Negroes have typically accommodated themselves to the prevalent social and class structure or have immigrated from the countryside. . . .It is among the urban and more advantaged Negroes that the integrationist

[1] A. Lee Coleman, "The Rural-Urban Variable in Race Relations," *Rural Sociology,* vol. 30 (1965) (hereafter cited as "The Rural-Urban Variable in Race Relations").
[2] Ibid., pp. 394–95.
[3] Ibid., pp. 396–97.
[4] John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1949).
[5] Ibid.

> appeal has found its initial and greatest reception.[6]

Professors David L. Brown and Glenn V. Fuguitt in a 1972 paper confirm other early research that points to the relationship between the size of the nonwhite population in a community and the opportunities available to nonwhites. They argue that as the proportion of nonwhites in the population increases, the status and income of nonwhites also increases.[7]

The only other materials on rural problems are the reports of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and its Advisory Committees.[8] The Missouri Advisory Committee last studied rural race relations in 1963. At that time it concluded that:

> Whereas no inequities were reported in the use of the ballot, there were practically unanimous reports from. . .State communities or outside St. Louis and Kansas City of denials and restrictions in employment, housing, recreation, and public accommodations.[9]

No complaints on public accommodations were heard by staff during the field investigation for this study.

A comparison of the sections of the Advisory Committee's 1963 report that deal with rural and urban areas shows the relative lack of pressure for change from black or white leaders in rural areas except in the extreme conditions of the Bootheel area. In most rural areas discussed, community leadership on desegregation appears to have been absent.

In his late 1940s article, "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation," Professor E. Frankin Frazier indicates many of the reasons why middle-class blacks at midcentury failed to push for equal opportunity. Although substantially dated by time, Professor Frazier's study, *On Race Relations,* contains hints of some of the problems to be expected.[10] Although the black middle class has since taken the leadership in the struggle for equal rights, some of the tone and dynamics that Professor Frazier describes may yet remain in rural areas.[11]

In the summer of 1977 the Advisory Committee did a preliminary survey of race relations in towns with populations between 2,500 and 15,000 and of which at least 10 percent were from minority groups. The Advisory Committee heard many complaints from minority persons that they were disadvantaged because of their race. At the Advisory Committee's July 1977 meeting, Boonville was selected as one of the towns in which the Advisory Committee would conduct a more extensive investigation. Between December 1977 and July 1978 staff of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights interviewed 65 persons, including 20 city and county officials, representatives of the principal employers, and a wide range of citizens from all segments of the community. Staff of the U.S. Departments of Housing and Urban Development, Treasury, Agriculture, and Interior and the delegate State agencies of the last two Departments were interviewed to find out what effort was being made to ensure nondiscrimination in federally-funded programs. This report is a first effort to determine the current dimensions of race relations in rural Missouri.

This study begins with a description of Boonville and of Cooper County and a survey of the position of blacks in these environments. An overview of the state of race relations follows, and the problems faced by blacks in the schools and in obtaining housing and employment are explored. The accessibility of locally and federally-funded services is analyzed.

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[6] "The Rural-Urban Variable in Race Relations," p. 403.

[7] David L. Brown and Glenn V. Fugitt, "Percent Nonwhite and Racial Disparity in Nonmetropolitan Cities in the South," *Social Science Quarterly,* vol. 53, no. 3 (December 1972), pp. 573–82.

[8] Missouri Advisory Committee, *A Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights* (June 1963), p. 3) (hereafter cited as *Missouri Advisory Committee Report).* The official manual of the State of Missouri for 1973–74 contains a study of the role of blacks in the State. However, this does not deal extensively with rural problems. See Lorenzo J. Greene, Antonio F. Holland, and Gary Kremer, "The Role of the Negro in Missouri History—1919–1970," State of Missouri, *Official Manual, 1973–1974* (Jefferson City, Mo.: State of Missouri, 1973), pp. 1–35. See also Loretta J. Williams, "Rural Black Missouri: Missouri's Forgotten People" (speech presented at the Fifth Annual Conference of the Missouri Black Leadership Association, St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 23, 1978).
Among the more recent U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and Advisory Committee publications dealing with rural areas are: *The Unfinished Business* (1977); *How Far Have We Come?* (1975); *The Voting Rights Act: Ten Years After* (1975); *The Tuskegee Study* (1973); *Civil Rights and the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974* (1976); *Blacks in the Arkansas Delta* (1974); *Cairo, Illinois: A Symbol of Racial Polarization* (1973); *Cairo, Illinois: Racism at Floodtide* (1973).

[9] *Missouri Advisory Committee Report.*

[10] E. Franklin Frazier, *On Race Relations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 292ff.

[11] Ibid.

2. The Setting

Cooper County, one of eight counties in the mid-Missouri region, is located south of the Missouri River. Cooper County is part of the "Boonslick" area, named for a salt lick worked by Daniel Boone's sons in the early 1800s. According to the "town marker," Boonville was settled in 1810 on land ceded by the Osage Tribes 2 years earlier. By 1812 Boonville was regarded as one of the westernmost points of civilization. Cooper County was organized in 1818 with Boonville as its county seat. A few years later the town became the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail, a principal route for settlers moving westward.

Although settled early, most expansion in Boonville as elsewhere south of the Missouri River in mid-Missouri did not occur until the 1840s with the arrival of foreign immigrants and northerners. This settlement contrasted with the settlement north of the river that occurred earlier and included a large number of southerners from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and the St. Charles District of Missouri.[1] Just prior to the Civil War (1855–57), Boonville residents built Thespian Hall. The building remains the oldest surviving theater west of the Alleghenies.

Although the mid-Missouri region was slave-holding country, slaves were less important in Cooper County than elsewhere. Thus, Cooper County remained prounion while other counties in the region supported the Confederacy.[2] In fact, Boonville was captured by the Confederacy during the Civil War (1861).[3]

Current day Boonville is bounded on the north by the Missouri River and on the south by Interstate Highway 70, and is 105 miles from Kansas City and 150 miles from St. Louis. Boonville is chartered as a third-class town by the State. The county is rated as a third-class county. County classification is based on assessed valuation and municipal classification is based on population. Boonville's 1970 population of 7,514 was more than half of Cooper County's total population of 14,732. The county's population peaked in 1900 at 22,532. The city continued to grow, albeit very slowly. (Boonville's population has increased by about 1 percent per year.)[4]

In a study conducted in December 1976, the Central Electrical Power Cooperative reports that about one-third of the Boonville working population are professionals, technicians, or managers; 24 percent are in clerical or sales work, 12 percent in service occupations; 10 percent in machine trades; 5 percent in farming or related work; 5 percent in structural work; 3 percent in benchwork; 1 percent in processing; and 8 percent in miscellaneous occupations.[5] All of the workers are not employed in Boonville or Cooper County. Columbia (24 miles away) and Jefferson City, the State capital (57 miles away), are significant employment centers in the region and are attractive to area residents because of

[1] W. Francis English and Priscilla Evans, "Area Description and History," *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile* (Columbia: Extension Division, University of Missouri-Columbia, 1973), pp. 4–6 (hereafter cited as *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile*).

[2] Ibid., p. 7.

[3] Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., *Boonville Call Guide* (1976).

[4] *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile*, table p–4–1, and U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Population Characteristics: Missouri*, 1970 Census (PC(1)–B27), table 31.

[5] Data supplied by Central Electrical Power Cooperative, on file in Central States Regional Office.

higher pay and more professional jobs available. Fourteen percent of the county's workers travel more than 24 miles to work.[6]

Although the area around Boonville is farm country producing corn, soybeans, and grain, the primary employers in the county are manufacturers: McGraw-Edison produces small electrical appliances, Boben Manufacturing makes women's shoe heels, Newtex Manufacturing makes athletic shirts, Fuqua Homes manufactures mobile and prefabricated homes, Holsum are bakers, and Huebert produces fiberboard. Other major employers are Kemper Academy, the oldest military school west of the Mississippi, the Missouri Training School for Boys, and Cooper County Memorial Hospital (a public hospital operated by an autonomous board). In addition to these employers, there are a number of small ones—shops, restaurants, service facilities—and the local governments.

In a third-class county, such as Cooper, a presiding judge and two associate judges of the county court govern the county. The court sets tax rates, appropriates county funds, and maintains county property (of which the roads are the most important). The circuit judge and circuit court clerk are the principal judicial officials of the county but are autonomous from it. There is a county clerk, recorder of deeds, prosecuting attorney, sheriff, assessor, collector of revenue, treasurer, coroner, public administrator, county surveyor, and highway engineer.[7] Most of these are elected positions and independent of the county court.[8]

Boonville, a third-class town, is governed by a mayor, council, and city administrator, one of only five third-class cities so governed.[9] Other city officials are: city attorney, collector, assessor, police chief, fire chief, city services director, director of public works, city engineer, street superintendent, park superintendent, sanitation director, and municipal judge.[10]

The mayor, council, the members of local chamber of commerce, and 26 other farmers, bankers, or persons associated with the downtown area were mentioned as being influential in Boonville by 11 persons, both black and white, interviewed by the Advisory Committee. But there was no real consensus among the persons interviewed. One black observer stated that a handful of whites control the town, mainly through the chamber of commerce.[11]

Recently, the town's leaders have supported an industrial park sponsored by the city and supported by the chamber of commerce.[12] Following the spring 1978 local elections, Mayor Charles Persinger told the press that, "As a whole, we now have council members that are conservative and I have great faith in their judgment."[13] In short, many of Boonville's influential citizens are perceived and some see themselves as protective of the status quo and reluctant to foster significant change.

It is in this setting that the Advisory Committee sought to determine the state of race relations in the area.

[6] Ibid.
[7] Robert F. Karsch, *The Government of Missouri* (Columbia, Mo.: Lucas Bros., 1976), pp. 204–09.
[8] Judge Leonard Lang, interview in Boonville, Mar. 16, 1978.
[9] Karsch, *The Government of Missouri*, p. 222.
[10] Missouri Municipal League, *Missouri Municipal Officials Directory: 1977–1978* (Jefferson City, Mo.: July 1977), p. 10.
[11] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[12] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.
[13] *Boonville Daily News*, Apr. 5, 1978.

3. Blacks in Boonville and Cooper County

Blacks came to Cooper County as slaves prior to the Civil War. An oral history of the black community has been handed down from generation to generation. Prior to 1863, blacks worshipped at the white First Baptist Church. Following the Emancipation Proclamation, the blacks in the community obtained a charter to establish the Morgan Street Baptist Church as their own. Since then an African Methodist Episcopal church and an independent Protestant church have been established.[1] There are few other minority organizations in Boonville or Cooper County.

Some of the present-day older black residents of Boonville can remember things as they were in the 1920s. At that time there was a block of businesses in the downtown area run by blacks that included two restaurants, a barbershop, a wood and coal shop, a liquor store, and a pool hall. But these businesses closed as their original proprietors died leaving no heirs who were willing to assume the operation of the businesses.[2] One of the few surviving businesses from this period is the H.J. May and Son Funeral Home, established in the 1880s. The other independent black businessmen are a plumber, house painter, concrete contractor, and garage owner and recently a restaurateur.[3]

In 1970 Boonville had 850 black residents and they were 79 percent of Cooper County's 1,081 black inhabitants. Blacks constituted 11.3 percent of the town's population (7,514).[4] Most of the black residents live in 4 of 15 census enumeration districts (census districts have about 250 housing units). Partly due to the efforts of some local real estate agents such as Jerry Quinlan and Van Donley, in the last few years blacks have been able to move to all parts of Boonville.[5]

The 231 black residents of the county who live outside of Boonville comprise about 3 percent of the population of the rest of the county (7,218). Most of the blacks (110) live in Bunceton, a town of 437. Including Boonville, 7.3 percent of the county population in 1970 was black.[6] Census data show that blacks migrated from Cooper County at nearly twice the rate of whites between 1940 and 1970 (7.6 versus 4.4 percent in 1960–70 alone). There were even more dramatic drops in the proportion of blacks in Cooper County aged 21 and over between 1960 and 1970 (up 6.5 percent for white males versus down 4.1 percent for black males and up 8.6 percent for white females versus down 17.6 percent for black females).[7]

Nearly half of the 349 black workers (42 percent or 148) in Cooper County in 1969 were in service occupations; 19 persons (5 percent) were in professional, technical, and kindred work; 5 persons (1 percent) were managers or administrators; 20 persons (6 percent) were in sales or clerical work; 35 persons (10 percent) were skilled workers; 80 (23

[1] George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[2] Mr. and Mrs. George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[3] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Brown Interview).
[4] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Population Characteristics: Missouri*, 1970 Census (PC(1)–B27), tables 31 and 34.
[5] Richard Brown, Irvin Drew, and H.T. May, interviews in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977, and Dec. 8, 1977.
[6] *General Population Characteristics* (PC(1)-B27), tables 31 and 35; and Paul Lutz and Ralph Utermoehlen, *Mid-Missouri Regional Profile* (Columbia: Extension Division, University of Missouri–Columbia, 1973), table P–4–1).
[7] Ibid.

percent) were semiskilled; 37 (11 percent) were unskilled workers; 113 were in service occupations (32 percent), and 35 (10 percent) were private household workers. The remaining black workers were in various other occupations.[8] Black median family income in Cooper County was somewhat more than half of the county average ($5,274 versus $8,050 in 1969).[9]

As in the white community, there was little consensus among the residents regarding who are the principal leaders of the black community. Former city council member Richard Brown was mentioned most. Others mentioned as leaders were Major Coleman, George Buckner, Bettie Jones, H.T. May, and Irvin Drew.[10] A black group involved in politics, the Boonslick Homecoming Club, a civic and social club, has perhaps 90 persons who pay dues, but only 10 to 15 attend monthly meetings. The club has supported people for elective and appointive office.[11] There is also a black American Legion post with about 20 to 25 veterans. The only other forces in the black community are the black churches.

Some blacks are involved in city government. There is a black chief of police. A black councilman served three terms in the city council until his defeat for mayor in the spring of 1978. The advisory board for the community development block grant program has 15 persons on the board; 5 are black. Of the five members of the board of public works, one is black. The compositions of the housing authority and equipment maintenance board are similar. The police board and the streets, alleys, and sidewalk boards each have two black members out of six. The waterfront park board includes four blacks out of five members. All five members of the city cemetery board are black. There are no blacks on any of the county's advisory boards, but Bettie Jones, a black, advises the Cooper County Housing and Community Development Act Board as a representative of the Human Development Corporation, a local community action agency. A black served two terms on the Boonville school board until defeated in 1977.[12]

By and large, the black community is seen by some of its leaders as apathetic and supporting the status quo. Although there was a local NAACP chapter in the 1960s, it folded for lack of support. Like so many rural areas, talented and achievement-oriented black youth leave following their graduation from high school.[13] The Human Development Corporation has been relatively unsuccessful in its efforts to increase black participation in community affairs.[14]

The former city council member, Richard Brown, reported that he was pessimistic about the black community banding together in order to push for gains that would benefit blacks as a group. In this belief, he and Van Donley, the area's State representative, agreed that the reluctance of Boonville's black community to make use of the political process to obtain change is typical of blacks in rural areas.[15].

[8] U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Missouri*, (PC(1)-C27), table 127.
[9] Ibid., tables 128 and 124.
[10] These persons were mentioned by more than 1 of the 11 persons who provided names of people they believed were community leaders.
[11] Major Coleman, interview in Boonville, Dec. 9, 1977.
[12] Data supplied by city of Boonville and H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1978.
[13] Richard Brown, interviews in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977, and Mar. 16, 1978.
[14] Rev. R.E. Andrews, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[15] Brown Interview; Van Donley, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.

4. Race Relations in Boonville and Cooper County

The Advisory Committee has noted the paucity of academic research on race relations in smaller rural areas. Writing about communities generally comparable to Boonville in size, minority population, and location, the Missouri Advisory Committee reported that in 1963 in Mexico, Missouri, another town in the mid-Missouri area about 58 miles from Boonville, there were no efforts to bring black and white people together. The Advisory Committee reported discrimination in employment; housing (both in the public and private sectors); segregated recreation facilities; exclusion of blacks from hotels, motels, and restaurants; and insufficient efforts to desegregate the schools.[1]

Asked to recall in 1978 whether conditions in Boonville in 1963 had been equally bad, the recollections of black community persons were vague. By 1963 the schools had been desegregated. There was no public housing in Boonville at that time. Some further noted that while a few blacks had lived in predominantly white neighborhoods, blacks in 1963 were not free to buy houses anywhere they wished in town.[2]

Today, whites and blacks in Boonville and Cooper County remain divided in their view of the state of race relations. At one extreme, a black minister reported he had heard that a prominent white businessman had remarked that, if it were left to him, he would put all the blacks in town down near Water Street and put a fence around them. The minister stated that some rich farmers wanted to maintain a good supply of farm and domestic help and have, therefore, been reluctant to encourage industrial growth.[3] Some blacks saw the overwhelming defeat of former council member Richard Brown in his race for mayor (Mr. Brown received 22 percent of the vote in the 1978 spring election while in 1974 the mayor's opponent got 46 percent of the vote) as a message, "Negro stay in your place."[4] In an interview in the *Boonville Daily News*, Richard Brown said:

> I was told last week by two white persons campaigning for me that a lot of people opposed me because of my color. With a black police chief in Boonville, it seems a lot of white people fear the blacks are trying to take over. . . .Boonville is just not ready for a black mayor.[5]

At the other extreme, most white leaders saw race relations in the town as extremely harmonious. They saw no animosities, prejudice, or discrimination.

There is no way to measure an abstract notion such as "race relations." But one comment that seemed to the Advisory Committee to reflect a reasonable balance was made by Mark Woolridge, the county prosecuting attorney, who said that people in the community who had attended integrat-

[1] Missouri Advisory Committee, *A Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights* (June 1963), pp. 2–5.

[2] George Buckner, telephone interview, Oct. 27, 1978; H.T. May, telephone interview, Oct. 30, 1978; Richard Brown, telephone interview, Oct. 31, 1978.

[3] Rev. R.E. Andrews, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977 (hereafter cited as Andrews Interview).

[4] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978; see also "Persinger Pledges Stronger Leadership Role," *Boonville Daily News*, Apr. 5, 1978.

[5] "Persinger Pledges Stronger Leadership Role."

ed schools are probably less prejudiced than their parents.[6] Indeed, a young white executive noted that he has a good friend who is black.[7] One observer who has moved around the country in his business career said that in Kansas City he didn't see that much socializing between whites and blacks. But he has seen blacks and whites eating together in public in Boonville.[8] But some white leaders interviewed continue to use such phrases as "colored girl" or "good boy." While not necessarily meant to be demeaning, the expressions, nonetheless, reflect a lack of sensitivity and an imperviousness to significant recent changes.

Some blacks would agree that race relations in Boonville are not bad. Many black leaders in town are particularly proud of the extent to which blacks have achieved elective and appointive office in Boonville.[9] Boonville is seen as a liberal town by some black citizens.[10] Blacks, who have lived in Boonville for generations and gained local prominence, report they can now get what they want.[11] But they point out that efforts to improve opportunities and living conditions for blacks are relatively recent.[12]

Churches are often leaders in the improvement of race relations. Although the two larger black churches participate in the local ministerial alliance, black ministers report that the white churches have not been involved in black-white relations, as such. These churches have concentrated on providing food and emergency help to the deprived,[13] which was confirmed by a white clergyman who reported there are no race relations problems in Boonville.[14] White ministers point to the opportunity for black participation in their churches.[15]

There have been fights between black and white teenagers. But many white observers do not attribute these to strong racial tensions.[16] The principal problem, one white leader said, is the virtual absence of interaction between the white and black communities.[17]

In the chapters that follow, the Advisory Committee reviews specific examples of interaction between whites and blacks in Boonville and Cooper County.

[6] Mark Woolridge, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[7] Louis Imhoff, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[8] Fred Hedrick, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[9] George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[10] Rev. I.H. Aldridge, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[11] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977 (hereafter cited as May Interview); Major Coleman, interview in Boonville, Dec. 9, 1977.
[12] May Interview.
[13] Andrews Interview.
[14] Father William Flanagan, telephone interview, July 27, 1978.
[15] Ibid., and Rev. Michael Trinklein, telephone interview, July 28, 1978.
[16] Randall Meyer, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977; Van Donley, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978; Phil Eller, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[17] Frank Thatcher, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.

5. Housing

In Mexico, Missouri, in 1963, the Advisory Committee found:

> Discriminatory practices exist in public and private housing. "Negroes cannot purchase homes whereever they desire. In certain areas they are not even permitted to live in project houses. . . ." In response to a question about the general condition of the Negro ghettos, one witness said [to the Advisory Committee in 1963], "Streets and sidewalks in the Negro section are partially paved at the present time. Before the urban renewal program began, there were practically no sidewalks at all in the Negro section."[1]

For blacks in Boonville and Cooper County, except for those few whose incomes now allow them freedom of movement, housing problems are real. Public housing, designed to assist very low-income people, did not exist in Boonville until 1972. Black leaders asserted that income is the only barrier to free choice of housing, at least in the last few years.[2] Van Donley, the area's State representative and a realtor, agreed. He reported some blacks moving into previously all-white neighborhoods.[3] The city has not passed a fair housing ordinance nor has the county passed a fair housing resolution.[4]

Reportedly, the dearth of moderately priced and habitable rental property is a problem for some blacks.[5] In Cooper County the need for rehabilitated housing among black families (190 out of 919 or 20.7 percent of those in need) is three times their proportion of the Cooper County population.[6] This figure is somewhat deceptive. Data on Boonville show that 25.5 percent (107 of 419) of the families in town who need rehabilitated housing are black, twice the proportion of blacks in Boonville (11.3 percent).[7] In the areas of Cooper County for which the county has responsibility, 19.7 percent of the households (77 of 390) in need of rehabilitated housing are black. (Data extrapolated from the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments and Boonville data.) This is more than six times the black proportion in the county's population outside Boonville (3 percent). In short, it is clear that in both jurisdictions black families are in much greater need of housing assistance than are their white counterparts.

The Cooper County Council of Agencies (a group of volunteers and professional staff from local human services agencies) reports that rental property (apartments and especially houses) is generally unavailable; what is available commands a high rent or is substandard; high downpayments for purchase of houses ranging in price from $5,000 to $15,000 preclude purchase as an alternative for the poor.[8] In light of these needs, housing assistance services are an important area for judging equality of opportunity.

[1] Missouri Advisory Committee, *A Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights* (June 1963), p. 3.
[2] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977; and Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977.
[3] Van Donley, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[4] Telephone interview with city and county clerks, July 13, 1978.
[5] George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[6] Mid-Missouri Council of Governments, *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan—1977* (March 1978), p. 55 (hereafter cited as *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan).*
[7] City of Boonville, *Pre-Application, Discretionary Community Development Block Grant, Comprehensive Plan* (May 10, 1978) (hereafter cited as *Comprehensive Plan).*
[8] Philip Eller, letter to staff, June 5, 1978.

TABLE 5.1

Occupancy by Race of Boonville Housing Authority Units

	Bedrooms	Total units	White	Black
Powell Court (Elderly, all bedrooms)	1	10	8	2
Winn Drive	1	8	5	3
	2	20	15	5
	3	2	1	1
Total		30	21	9
High Street	2	2	0	2
	3	4*	2	1
Total		6*	2	3
Water Street (all units 3 bedrooms)	3	4*	1	2
Total families by race			32	16

*One vacancy.
Source: Data supplied by Boonville Housing Authority on file in CSRO.

The public housing authority in Boonville was established in October 1972. The housing authority's director, Lois Gilmere, reported that the authority has 50 units at four locations. In May 1978, exactly one-third of the tenants were black, and concentrations of minority tenants were not noted. The ethnic distribution of residents at each project is indicated in table 5.1.

Some blacks have complained that the procedures used by the housing authority are arbitrary and have disadvantaged blacks. As far as could be determined, all the complaints concern procedures that are within the guidelines approved by the St. Louis area office of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).[9] For example, one black woman complained that she had been denied access to public housing because she had an unpaid electrical bill of $100.[10] This action was consistent with HUD guidelines, although the fact that an official of the local power company sits on the housing board may have stimulated the black community's reaction and possibly the board's concern about such bills. The Boonville housing board is perceived to be more likely to interfere in the day-to-day operation of the public housing authority than its counterparts elsewhere.[11] Officials at the HUD area office believed that there might be some management difficulties but did not believe that these difficulties have a discriminatory effect.[12] Only recently has the authority issued a brochure describing its program. The equal opportunity officer from the HUD area office in St. Louis reported that there has not been a review of equal opportunity in Boonville. There was no reason to believe that such a review would turn up evidence of discrimination. The former acting assistant regional administrator for equal opportunity reported that equal opportunity complaints had not been filed with his office.[13]

The Cooper County Council of Agencies has met with local real estate agencies and financial institutions to help resolve the housing problems experienced by the disadvantaged. Phil Eller, a member of the council, concluded that part of the problem is that real estate agents are unaware of the potential of federally-funded "section 8" rental housing and some low-income families have been unable to

[9] Al Lumpkins and James H. Strassner, interview in St. Louis, July 3, 1978 (hereafter cited as Lumpkins and Strassner Interview).
[10] Bettie Jones, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Jones Interview).
[11] Lumpkins and Strassner Interview.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Hayward Sparks, telephone interview, July 10, 1978.

effectively thread their way through the maze of programs to find one that will assist them.[14]

Both Boonville and Cooper County are eligible for community development block grants under the discretionary program (i.e., their grant applications are judged by HUD both as to the suitability of their proposal and the amount to be funded).

Boonville received $163,000 for community facilities and services and $100,000 for housing rehabilitation in October 1977.[15] It requested $750,000 for the fiscal year beginning in October 1978. The largest amount would have provided street and storm drain improvements in the black community. The next largest would have been spent for housing rehabilitation in three areas, two of which contain a substantial number of black families. Boonville estimates that 92.75 percent of the beneficiaries of its proposals would have been low- or moderate-income persons. The proposal was not funded.[16]

Cooper County, working through the Human Development Corporation (HDC), received $20,000 for community facilities and services and $86,000 for housing rehabilitation in October 1977.[17] The county has attempted, without success, to obtain community development block grants for improvements in Bunceton, Missouri. The Mid-Missouri Council of Governments' staff complained that HUD has denied the grants based on an unrealistic assessment of the problems (the wealthier portion of Bunceton was used to discount the extremely poor and predominantly black portion).[18] In May 1978 a new application was submitted by Bunceton for $301,350, including $120,000 for 20 units of housing, 90 percent for persons who are economically disadvantaged, many of whom are black. The application was rejected.[19]

A key element in the Boonville and Cooper County block grants is housing rehabilitation. Both governments have contracted with the Central Missouri Counties Human Development Corporation, headquartered in Columbia, to do the rehabilitation work. The city administrator, Gary Hamburg, has been concerned by the slow pace of rehabilitation. But the city has accepted the HDC view that hiring of low-skill persons and poor weather for construction justified some delay. As of May 1978, 18 of 33 planned rehabilitation efforts were near completion.[20] A majority of the Boonville rehabilitations, 10 of 18 units, have been for black families. None of Cooper County's block grant funds have been used in areas with black families[21] principally because Bunceton could not be served. HUD has neither conducted onsite review nor found civil rights violations in either county or city.[22]

Boonville has undertaken other housing activities using Federal funds. Of four existing housing units under section 8, one is occupied by blacks. Of 52 units under section 8 new construction, 15 were to be occupied by blacks. Of 10 units built under section 502, funded by Farmers Home Administration for moderate income families, none is occupied by a black.[23] The Farmers Home Administration has not conducted an onsite review in Boonville.[24]

For those who can afford it, housing is reported to be open and available in Boonville and Cooper County. But it is clear that opportunity is far more limited for those in need of housing assistance; of these, minorities constitute a disproportionate share, and minorities have not received any of the Farmers Home Administration housing assistance available for new dwellings.

[14] Fran Liberatore, "Agencies, Realtors, Bankers Probe Housing Availability," *Boonville Daily News*, Oct. 7, 1977.
[15] *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan*, p. 122.
[16] *Comprehensive Plan*, and Pat Ash, telephone interview, Oct. 26, 1978.
[17] *Areawide Housing Opportunity Plan*, p. 122; and Bettie Jones, telephone interview, Oct. 13, 1978.
[18] D.R. Preston, Mid-Missouri Council of Governments, letter to staff, Jan. 19, 1978.
[19] City of Bunceton, *Pre-Application: Comprehensive Community Development Project* (May 1, 1978); and D.R. Preston, telephone interview, Nov. 20, 1978.
[20] Jones Interview.
[21] Leonard Lang, interview in Boonville, June 1, 1978.
[22] Lumpkins and Strassner Interview.
[23] *Comprehensive Plan.*
[24] Charles Marks, telephone interview, July 11, 1978.

6. Public Schools

The Boonville schools serve 1,559 Boonville students and an additional 41 nonresident high school students. Black students make up 8 percent of the kindergarten through third grade enrollment at Central Elementary School; 12 percent of the fourth through sixth grade enrollment at Southwest Elementary School; 14 percent of the enrollment at David Barton Junior High School; and 11 percent at Laura Speed Eliot High School (popularly called Boonville High). There is also a vocational high school serving approximately 175 to 200 students from an eight-district area. Data on class enrollments (which duplicate somewhat) show 26 black students. Of 108 professionals in the Boonville schools, 36 are in the high school, 12 in the area vocational school, 3 in the licensed practical nurses program, 17 in the junior high, and 41 in the two elementary schools (1 of the high school professionals also works at the junior high school and is counted twice). At the moment, there is only one black teacher—an elementary school art teacher. There are also two black janitors and two other black employees on the school's service staff who function in dual roles of school lunch worker and bus driver.[1]

The Boonville public schools, like all schools in Missouri, were segregated prior to 1954. Sumner Elementary School and Sumner High School, which served the black population of Boonville and surrounding areas, shared a single building. In fall 1955, Sumner High School, the black high school, was closed. In fall 1957, the black elementary school was also closed. Since that date, black pupils have attended integrated schools.[2]

Prior to desegregation, Boonville had nine black teachers, all of whom were terminated at the time of desegregation.[3] An overriding concern of the black community is the absence of any black professionals at the high school level. They believe that a black counselor-teacher with whom minority youth might identify is particularly necessary.[4] The superintendent said that in the early seventies, the high school did have a black male counselor who resigned after a few years to take a more attractive job in Columbia.[5]

Superintendent Daryle McCullough stated that in his 7 years as superintendent there have been only three black applicants for employment at the high school level. He does not recall any black applicants for clerical or secretarial jobs. The superintendent said that they recruit largely at teacher training schools in Missouri, always including Lincoln University. Sometimes they also recruit in Kansas and Iowa, when subject areas such as mathematics are involved. Superintendent McCullough insisted that discrimination plays no part in the lack of minority employees, but he agreed no special affirmative efforts had been made to recruit minorities. He believes that most teachers prefer other geographic locations that can offer better salaries, amenities, etc. No efforts were made to recruit black teachers from black colleges outside the State.[6]

[1] Data supplied by Boonville public schools.
[2] Willie Walton, telephone interview, July 14, 1978.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977 (hereafter cited as Brown Interview); and George Buckner, interview in Boonville, Dec. 9, 1977 (hereafter cited as Buckner Interview).
[5] Daryle McCullough, interview in Boonville, Mar. 1, 1978.
[6] Ibid.

Another concern of the black community is that some black students are believed to receive "certificates" rather than diplomas or to be denied unreasonably a diploma when informed, close to graduation time, that they have too few credits to graduate.[7] The principal of Boonville High School, Ernest Oerly, stated that at the present time, there are two diplomas: a regular diploma and one for students enrolled in special education. Both require 20 credits. He believes that the concern of black parents is similar to the concern that he has heard from white parents. Some students fail to pass all their subjects in the final semester of high school and thus are short of credits. But Mr. Oerly insisted that they maintain good records and notify each student well in advance of a problem about graduation. He denied that black students have been given less warning than whites of the requirements for graduation or that blacks have been more likely than whites to discover at the last minute that they lacked some credits.[8] One of the guidance counselors, Charles Whitten, acknowledged that in the past students did get attendance certificates, but this has not been true for many years.[9] A recent black high school graduate confirmed that the person some black leaders thought had not received a diploma in fact received one.[10]

Of the 54 students enrolled in the high school classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR) in 1977–78, 21 were black. Mr. Oerly suspects that the high black student enrollment in EMR was because of social factors. Slow-learning, nonminority students in a town like Boonville are likely to drop out and get jobs at 16 when students can legally quit school; whereas black students in a similar situation are less likely to drop out. This, he believes, explains the disparity between the proportion of black EMR students and the overall student enrollment in EMR classes.[11] The school counselor, Mr. Whitten, noted that EMR high school students were identified in the early grades by tests that are readministered every 3 years, to ensure that the identification remains valid.[12]

There appeared to be a rather widespread belief in the black community that discipline for like offenses has sometimes been meted out more severely to black students than to whites. One recent white high school graduate claimed that both black and white students occasionally were victims of excessive discipline.[13]

The high school principal, a native of Boonville, believes that except for drug problems, school disciplinary problems are much the same as they were when he went to school. He reported there were 21 suspensions during 1977–78, up to March 1, 1978—9 white males, 3 white females, 4 black males, and 4 black females (1 black female was suspended twice). He stated that parents are always informed if their children are suspended. Although the school can suspend a student for 10 days, most suspensions are for 3 days. In the 16 years of his principalship, Mr. Oerly said that there had been only two expulsions, one white and one black student.

Mr. Oerly said he is puzzled by communication problems between school officials and some young black girls. He agreed that the lack of black faculty members or a black counselor might be a problem.[14]

The principal reported that "more of our black kids are educational minded—expect more and are making greater efforts as compared to 16 years ago." He cited three graduates now at Kansas State Teacher's College, Pittsburg, and another at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.[15]

The counselor described several of his successful efforts to obtain scholarships for students at University of Missouri campuses. In the 1976–77 school year, the high school graduated 128 students of whom 12 (9 percent) were black. Mr. Whitten commented that fewer students, both white and black, seem to be going to college than in previous years, perhaps because of the growing popularity of technical training. He said around 15 years ago approximately 75 percent of Boonville High School graduates were college bound. Current percentages are much lower.[16]

According to figures provided by the counselor, there was a total of 33 dropouts at the end of the 1976–77 school year of whom 5 were black students; 20 were male and 13 female. All of the black students were male.[17]

[7] Brown Interview and Buckner Interview.
[8] Ernest Oerly, interview in Boonville, Mar. 1, 1978 (hereafter cited as Oerly Interview).
[9] Charles Whitten, interview in Boonville, Mar. 1, 1978 (hereafter cited as Whitten Interview).
[10] Robert Estell, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[11] Oerly Interview.
[12] Whitten Interview.
[13] Mark Hatley, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[14] Oerly Interview.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Whitten Interview.
[17] Ibid.

School officials reported minimum racial conflict between students in the past several years. Black students are involved in most school activities. In participant activities, blacks and whites seem to be well mixed, but have a tendency to cluster separately as observers, e.g., sports and games. During the 1977–78 school year, on the 10-man varsity basketball team, 4 were black; the cheerleading squads were integrated. In the 1976–77 school year, a black student was student body president.[18]

One knowledgeable white observer suggested that the failures of the Boonville schools in dealing with black pupils are more sins of omission than commission. He believes that some school staff members were insensitive to the special needs of black students, but that the counselors were unconscious of any unequal treatment. He suspects, without evidence, that black students guilty of persistent misbehavior might be encouraged to drop out of school sooner than white students exhibiting similar behavior.[19]

A former black student, now attending college, stated that he believes that teachers generally considered that white students are smarter than black students. However, the same person credited the high school counselor with helping him apply for and receive a scholarship.[20]

The school system is conscious of at least one failure in dealing with black students. But methods to bring change are not apparent. For example, one former student stated that the high school principal refused to allow a black history activity, sponsored by a group of black students, on the grounds that the students were organized insufficiently.[21] Allegations were made that the basketball team has been structured so that no more than two blacks are playing at any one time, although many blacks and reportedly some whites believe this keeps the town from having a winning team.[22]

[18] Field interviews in Boonville, Mar. 1, 1978.
[19] Phil Eller, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[20] Robert Estell, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[21] Ibid.
[22] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977, and J.B. Estell, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978. The *Boonville Daily News* in a Sept. 26, 1978, editorial, commented:

> This statement is not only biased, but false. Anyone who has gone to a Boonville basketball game knows that many times during the season last year, three or four blacks were playing at the same time. And the team has been successful in the past. Last year, it shared the Missouri Valley Conference title.

7. Employment in Boonville and Cooper County

In 1963 the Missouri Advisory Committee reported that blacks in Mexico, Missouri, were "kept at a substandard level as a consequence of Negroes being restricted to menial and low-salaried jobs." Blacks were able to get jobs only as custodial or janitorial workers in stores, factories, and offices and to serve as domestic and janitorial workers in the city hall and county courthouse. None could obtain jobs as semiskilled or skilled workers or be promoted to supervisory positions. Blacks could not work on construction sites in the urban renewal program. Black workers were not employed at the local post office.[1]

In an area such as Cooper County, with a very low unemployment rate (2.8 percent in October 1978)[2] and in the light of employment antidiscrimination laws, especially Title VII of the Federal 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended, analysis of employment is unlikely to produce gross evidence of discrimination. Therefore, the Advisory Committee studied the availability of black workers in the area's labor force, the extent that black workers were utilized differently in the area's labor force (of which black males are 2.6 percent and black females are 3.5 percent),[3] and the extent that black workers comprised less than their share of some employers' work forces.

White civic and business leaders asserted that blacks who wanted jobs could get them. Mark Van Patten, assistant publisher of the *Boonville Daily News*, stated that employment is open to everyone, if qualified.[4] This view was shared by Thomas Miller, chairman of the board and president of the National Bank of Boonville,[5] and Randall Meyer, of Boonslick Savings and Loan Association.[6] Robert Herfurth, president of United Missouri Bank of Boonville, asserted that if black people are not employed it is because they lack initiative, but as far as he knows, there are good relations between blacks and whites and opportunities are open.[7] But Rev. Mel Lantz, pastor of the First Baptist Church, said that job opportunities in Boonville are limited and blacks suffer from this more than whites.[8]

Table 7.1 shows the 1969 work experience of blacks and whites and males and females, in three critical age levels, as reported by the census. The principal employment years are between the ages of 22 and 64. During these years, Boonville whites were more likely to be unemployed than blacks. But black males were more likely to work less than 40 weeks per year than were their white counterparts. Particularly significant is the much larger proportion of black males ages 45 to 64 who worked 26 weeks or less (22 percent for black males versus 5 percent for white males).

Teenage unemployment is a national concern. The national patterns of high teenage unemployment are reflected in Cooper County. Although 33 percent of

[1] Missouri Advisory Committee, *A Report of the Missouri Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights* (June 1963), p. 2.
[2] Missouri, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, *Missouri Area Labor Trends* (October 1978), table 1A.
[3] Missouri, Department of Labor and Industrial Relations, *Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs* (September 1977), table 2.
[4] Mark Van Patten, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[5] Thomas Miller, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[6] Randall Meyer, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[7] Robert Herfurth, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977 (hereafter cited as Herfurth Interview).
[8] Rev. Mel Lantz, interview in Boonville, Dec. 9, 1977.

TABLE 7.1

Work Experience—Cooper County, 1970 Census

	WHITE MALE					WHITE FEMALE				
	Total	14–21	22–44	45–64	65+	Total	14–21	22–44	45–64	65+
Total who worked	3,858	506	1,479	1,427	446	2,403	365	1,031	838	169
40 wks. +	3,156	198(39)	1,323(89)	1,330(93)	305(68)	1,442	118(32)	616(60)	623(74)	85(50)
27–39	203	57(11)	82(6)	27(2)	37(8)	374	70(19)	152(15)	115(14)	37(22)
26 or less	499	251(50)	74(5)	70(5)	104(23)	587	177(48)	263(26)	100(12)	47(28)
Didn't work	767	246(33)	35(2)	81(5)	405(48)	2,739	462(56)	577(36)	756(47)	944(85)
	BLACK MALE					BLACK FEMALE				
Total who worked	208	10	94	65	39	157	17	57	66	17
40 wks. +	150	4(40)	81(86)	51(78)	14(36)	119	10(59)	37(65)	55(83)	17(100)
27–39	12	0	7(7)	0	5(13)	9	0	5(9)	4(6)	0
26 or less	46	6(60)	6(6)	14(22)	20(51)	29	7(41)	15(26)	7(11)	0
Didn't work	63	33(77)	0	5(7)	25(39)	161	46(73)	20(26)	29(31)	66(88)

Notes: Percentages are in parentheses.
Percentages of persons working are based on all who worked.
Percentages of persons who did not work are based on labor force.
Source: Community Services Administration data on file in CSRO.

teenage white males and 56 percent of teenage white females (ages 14 through 21) were unemployed, 77 percent of black teenage males and 73 percent of black teenage females were unemployed.

Table 7.2 shows the percentages of the employed labor force held by whites and blacks in the various occupational categories for which data are available for Cooper County. In only one category are blacks a larger percentage than whites—private household workers.

Table 7.3 shows the utilization of blacks by the principal employers, public and private, in selected job categories.

Holsum Baker, McGraw-Edison plant, Kemper School, and the city are the only employers where 3 percent or more of the work force are black males. McGraw Edison plant, McGraw-Edison service facility, Newtex, Kemper School, and Cooper County Hospital are the only employers who employ 4 percent or more black females. Only the city and McGraw-Edison (plant and service facility) employ black male officials or managers; only Cooper County Hospital employs black female officials or managers. Only the Missouri Training School for Boys and the city employ black males as professionals or technicians. Only the training school and the county hospital employ black females as professionals or technicians. Only McGraw-Edison service facility and Cooper County Hospital employ black females as clerical workers. Only the city employs the same proportion of black male employees (one worker) in skilled jobs as are in the labor force. McGraw-Edison employs eight black females as skilled workers (14 percent of its skilled work force) and Missouri Training School employs two black females as skilled workers (9 percent of the school's skilled work force). Particularly striking is the infinitesimal representation of blacks in the county work force (one janitor), especially in comparison to the success of both the city and the county hospital in finding minorities.

Affirmative recruitment efforts have been found essential to equalize opportunity for minorities and women, as other studies by Advisory Committees in this region have shown.[9] As the following review of comments by the principal employers in Boonville shows, efforts to recruit minorities are practically nonexistent. This is true even of companies with long histories of employing blacks.

John Cunningham, comptroller of Fuqua Homes, reported that the foremen of the firm usually hired and fired their own workers. He stated that there was no need to advertise since there were always sufficient applications on hand.[10]

Al Schwartz of Boben Manufacturing reported that his company had always hired blacks, even prior to 1954. He stated that his company was the first in town to hire blacks for production jobs. But he reported that he no longer receives many applications from blacks. Like Fuqua Homes, the company depends on word of mouth because "everyone knows who's hiring."[11]

Jake Huebert of Huebert Fibreboard noted that he had no difficulty employing blacks at the entry level. His company had 45 workers, including 5 black males (2 in shipping, 2 on the paperbeater, and 1 foreman). It also employed three black teenagers as part-time helpers. But he noted that promotion for both blacks and whites is difficult because promotions depend on skills at "figuring," keeping records, and the like.[12]

General W.H. Blakefield, president of Kemper Military School, reported that he had two blacks in supervisory positions, head of the laundry and head of the maintenance force, but no black faculty members (although 3 percent of the student body is black and 21 percent are minorities). He reported that the school recruits by advertisement in the *Boonville Daily News* or through its own personal resources.[13]

The director of the Missouri Training School for Boys, Richard Bell, reported that the school is one of the better employers in Boonville so far as opportunities and salaries are concerned. Mr. Bell stated that 12.8 percent of the school's work force was black. Mr. Bell would like to increase the proportion of minorities in professional positions because a large proportion of the school's student population (60 percent) is black and urban. He reported that it is difficult to find blacks willing to move to a small town and accept the relatively low pay available as compared to the salaries in other cities.[14] The school is the only local employer which

[9] Nebraska Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Private Sector Affirmative Action: Omaha* (1979), and Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska Advisory Committees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *State Affirmative Action in Mid-America* (June 1978).

[10] John Cunningham, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.

[11] Al Schwartz, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.

[12] Jake Huebert, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.

[13] W.H. Blakefield, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978; and letter to Joanne M. Collins, Sept. 22, 1978.

[14] Richard Bell, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.

TABLE 7.2

Distribution of Cooper County Employed Labor Force, 1970

Number	All	All Male	All Female	Black	Black Male	Black Female
Total 16+	5,746	3,620	2,126	349	195	154
Prof., tech., and kindred	598	295	303	19	10	9
Managers	427	352	75	5	5	—
Sales	274	165	109	7	4	3
Clerical	784	163	621	13	10	3
Craftsmen and foremen	637	574	63	32	19	13
Operatives	793	336	457	80	47	33
Laborers	303	266	37	37	37	—
Farmers	861	830	31	5	5	—
Service	569	224	345	113	55	58
Private household	60	0	60	35	0	35

Percent	White Male	White Female	Black Male	Black Female
Total 16+	59.6	34.3	3.4	2.7
Prof., tech., and kindred	47.7	49.2	1.7	1.5
Managers	81.3	17.6	1.2	0
Sales	58.8	38.7	1.5	1.1
Clerical	19.5	78.8	1.3	0.4
Craftsmen and foremen	87.1	7.9	3.0	[illegible]
Operatives	36.4	53.5	5.9	[illegible]
Laborers	75.6	12.2	12.2	0
Farmers	95.8	3.6	0.6	0
Service	29.7	50.4	9.7	10.2
Private household	0	41.7	0	58.3

Note: Percentages are percent of job category. (Errors in percentages are due to rounding.)
Source: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Missouri, PC(1), C27, tables 122 and 127.

TABLE 7.3

Number and Proportion of Black Males, Black Females, and White Females in the Work Forces of Major Cooper County Employers

	McGraw-Edison Plant May 2, 1978	McGraw-Edison Service May 2, 1978	Holsum Bakers June 16, 1978	Newtex Manufacturers May 1, 1978	Fuqua Apr. 23, 1978	Kemper School June 5, 1978	Cooper County Hospital June 14, 1978	Mo. Training School for Boys May 17, 1978	Boonville Dec. 12, 1978	Cooper County May 19, 1978
Total										
BM	18/331	3/157	10/136	0	2/87	3/84	2/165	NA	16/79.5***	1/50
BF	20/331	13/157	1/136	9/116	0	9/84	18/165	NA	2/79.5***	0
WF	167/331*	89/157	8/136	96/116**	11/87	37/84	109/165	NA	11.5/79.5***	0
Officials/managers										
BM	1/20	1/17	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/17	0
BF	0	0	0	0	0	0	3/18	0	0	0
WF	2/20	0	0	1/4	0	0	5/18	2/6	2/17	0
Professionals and technicians										
BM	0	NC	NC	NC	0	0	0	9/100	1/13	0
BF	0	NC	NC	NC	0	0	1/43	2/100	0	0
WF	5/9	NC	NC	NC	0	5/19	36/43	30/100	1/13	0
Clerical										
BM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0/10	0	0
BF	0	1/31	0	0	0	0	1/25	0/10	0	0
WF	4/7	30/31	5/7	4/4	0	11/12	22/25	0/10	5/5	0
Skilled workers										
BM	0	0	0	0	NC	NC	0	0/23	1/10	0
BF	0	8/57	0	0	NC	NC	0	2/23	0/10	0
WF	5/29	36/57	0	6/7	NC	NC	0	7/23	0/10	0

*Includes one Native American.
**Includes one Asian American.
***Includes halftime workers.
BF = black female.
BM = black male.
WF = white female.
NC = none in category.
Note: Missouri Training School numbers are estimates based on data provided.
Source: Data supplied by employers and on file in CSRO.

has had an employment complaint filed with the Missouri Human Rights Commission.[15]

There are several stores on the main street. Harold Schnetzler, owner of the IGA food stores, stated that through the years he has employed 7 to 10 black youths but has not employed any recently because there have not been any black applicants in the past 3 years.[16] Mark Hatley, assistant manager at MAT-CO, reported that of his 25 employees, 1 is black. At times there have been as many as three black employees.[17] One women's clothing store had a black salesperson. Several other stores employed black students part time.[18]

The district manager of Missouri Power and Light Company reported that 2 of his 28 employees were black (a store supervisor and a meter reader). He has never had any black applicants for clerical jobs. He has contacted at least three black leaders to recruit black workers.[19]

Of the private employers, only McGraw Edison is covered by Executive Order 11246, as amended, which requires affirmative action planning and efforts by private employers holding contracts with the Federal Government. McGraw-Edison reported that it had several departments in which there was underutilization of minorities and women. For some departments, employment goals have been set. In others, the company has promised to monitor hiring closely to ensure that there is no discrimination.[20]

Most black spokespersons shared the views of former city councilmen Richard Brown who believes that obtaining employment in the factories is no problem for blacks. He believes that there are too few minorities in the downtown stores but recognized that low pay is a contributing factor.[21] Another black leader reported being asked to send applicants to Missouri Power and Light and Guy's Potato Chips.[22]

The banks in Boonville did not have any minority employees in other than janitorial positions. One banker stated that not only has he had no vacancies recently but that the blacks who have applied have not presented themselves in a way that showed they knew what they wanted to do.[23] But another banker was reported to say he would hire a black teller or clerk if one would apply. Richard Brown thought that enough qualified black applicants are available in Boonville.[24]

Table 7.3 shows the very good overall hiring record of the city in employing blacks in all but clerical positions. This has occurred despite the fact that the city lacks a centralized city personnel system or a mechanism to ensure that equal opportunity is practiced by department heads. Gary Hamburg, the city administrator, noted that the city has done well without an affirmative action plan and the development of one is at the bottom of his list of priorities.[25] Discussing affirmative action with the *Boonville Daily News*, Mr. Hamburg stated that:

> it would be a "waste" to spend the amount of time needed to formulate such a plan.
>
> I'd guess right now that the city employs at least as many, if not more, of a percentage of blacks than there are in the area.[26]

In a subsequent interview with the newspaper he stated:

> We do the best we can here when hiring personnel. I don't think we discriminate against hiring people because of their race or sex. . .Now we promote on the basis of merit. . .and I'd like to see it stay that way.[27]

By and large minorities are represented in most of the city's principal departments. Most noteworthy is that the city has hired a black chief of police and a black fireman.

The county hospital has also done well in hiring minorities; several hold senior positions. The county government, however, has not done as well. The affirmative action statement of the county governments, passed to comply with Federal grant requirements, is not an effective affirmative action plan.[28] The only black county employee is a janitor at the county courthouse, a post traditionally reserved for blacks. Each county official is responsible for the

[15] Al Plummer, telephone interview, July 10, 1978.
[16] Harold Schnetzler, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[17] Mark Hatley, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[18] Staff observation; Rev. R.E. Andrews, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977; and J.B. Estell, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[19] Red Painter, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[20] Materials on file in the Central States Regional Office, dated Oct. 1, 1977.
[21] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.
[22] George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[23] Herfurth Interview.
[24] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977.
[25] Gary Hamburg, interview in Boonville, Mar. 17, 1978; see also *Boonville Daily News*, "Civil Rights Commission Begins City Investigation," Dec 8, 1977 (hereafter cited as "Civil Rights Commission Begins City Investigation").
[26] "Civil Rights Commission Begins City Investigation."
[27] "Civil Rights Group to Return to City," *Boonville Daily News*, Dec. 14, 1977.
[28] Cooper County, *Affirmative Action Plan* (n.d.).

hiring of one or two persons and they reported neither a turnover nor any applicants, with the exception of the county health nurse who does have a black aide. The only large block of employees is the road crew. The court has indicated a reluctance to hire blacks. One judge claimed there are not any blacks qualified to run the county's road equipment. The judges agreed to consider the possibility of using a CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) position to provide training for minorities or women who wanted to work on the road crew.[29] The sheriff reported he does want to hire a black deputy (he now has a black volunteer deputy). So far he has been unsuccessful in finding a black deputy.[30] Other county officials indicated that when openings become available, they would rely on word-of-mouth recruitment.[31] County officials pointed out that the structure of county government prevents countywide affirmative action. Mark Woolridge, the county attorney, explained that each of the elected officials is entitled to hire his or her own personnel and no one, including the county judges, has authority to tell other county officials what guidelines to use for selection. The county judges have authority to hire only the janitor of the courthouse and the road crew.[32] In the matter of hiring minorities, Cooper County is similar to most counties in Missouri.[33]

Among the 20 U.S. Postal Service employees in the Boonville facility, there are no blacks, although postal work has been one of the traditional avenues of opportunities for minorities. There is one black postal clerk in Columbia who wishes to work in Boonville. The postmaster claimed that the hiring system prevents hiring a full-time postal worker from elsewhere so long as there are part-time postal workers in Boonville who want full-time work. The Boonville postmaster stated he intends to make a greater effort to ensure that blacks are aware of the forthcoming examination for postal workers that will provide the pool for future openings in Boonville.[34]

The Boonville office manager of the Missouri State Employment Service, serving Cooper and Howard Counties, noted that often he is unable to fill job openings at the factories. He also stated that he had never received a job opening from any of the Boonville banks.[35] An examination of the office's ESARS (Employment Service Automated Reporting System) files shows that blacks are being equitably served by the office. Indeed, blacks were somewhat more likely to get placed than were whites.[36]

Both employers and some black leaders agreed that much of the black demand for work in Boonville is reduced because jobs, often better paid or with a better future, are available in Columbia and Jefferson City. But Bettie Jones of the Human Development Corporation believes blacks are disproportionately likely to commute—indicating a lack of opportunity for them in Cooper County.[37]

Staff reported that private employers were reluctant to discuss the problem of hiring minorities and women. The county court has not taken any major steps to change although some elected officials had or intended to hire minorities. The accomplishment of the city, the county hospital, and a few of the major employers in hiring and promoting minorities seems unlikely to be duplicated elsewhere, at least until a more conscientious recruitment effort is made.

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[29] Leonard Lang, interview in Boonville, Mar. 17, 1978.
[30] Sam Morris, interview in Boonville, Mar. 16, 1978.
[31] Paul Sombart, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978; and Leonard Lang, interview in Boonville, Mar. 16, 1978.
[32] Mark Woolridge, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[33] Robert Karsch, *The Government of Missouri* (Columbia: Lucas Bros., 1976), pp. 205–07.
[34] Earl Brownfield, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978; Earl Jackson, Sr., interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978; see also Joel S. Trosch, assistant general counsel, U.S. Postal Service, letter to staff, Sept. 18, 1978.
[35] Bill Vanderveer, Missouri State Employment Service, interview in Boonville, May 18, 1978.
[36] ESARS, table 6, Mar. 31, 1978 for Boonville local office.
[37] Bettie Jones, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.

8. Provision of Services by Cooper County and Boonville

The range of services provided by Cooper County and Boonville has been detailed in the description of the local government units. One black community leader claimed that, if this report had been written several years ago, allegations of discrimination would have been plentiful.[1] Now these complaints are less concrete, although still heard. The principal areas of service are roads, recreation, streets, police protection, the criminal justice system, and social services. Services dependent upon general revenue sharing funds are discussed in the next chapter. Housing has been discussed in an earlier chapter.

The bulk of the black population lives in four census enumeration districts, mainly clustered downtown. But blacks are no more than 24 percent of the population of any of these districts. Two of the districts contain a large proportion of families below the poverty level (22.6 percent in one and 22.7 percent in the other); one district has a high proportion of houses lacking complete plumbing (19 percent).[2]

The traditional black neighborhood in east Boonville still contains a small pocket of about 20 to 25 families, the Advisory Committee was told. Past neglect of streets, sidewalks, and a bridge that provides access to the main part of town is apparent. Rural Street, the center of this area, was one of the last to be paved. But the consensus of black residents interviewed is that the street services provided are comparable to those received by areas that have few blacks. Evidence was not presented to the Advisory Committee that the county discriminates in the provision or maintenance of roads.

Some black residents complained that Veterans Park, a small park near the largest concentration of black families, has inadequate facilities. But others pointed out that Veterans Park was subject to flooding and that Harley Park was available. The city has proposed to develop a riverfront park that would be even closer to the black community.[3] As of May 1978, funding had not been found for the development.

Black leaders stated that blacks have not experienced recently noticeable discrimination in services, partly because black and white neighborhoods are so close together.[4] The black former councilman, Richard Brown, stated that much of the improvement in services to blacks was made possible by Federal funds.[5]

The appointment of a black police chief in Boonville symbolized a change in police-community relations. Leading blacks regard Chief Drew as the best possible person on the force to be chief.[6] During the field research for this report, white police officers were seen as the chief's principal detractors.[7] The county sheriff reports that he has had good working relations with the city police and its chief. One of the sheriff's volunteer deputies is black.[8]

In the last 5 years, black leaders allege that the criminal justice system in the county has not

[1] H.T. May, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977 (hereafter cited as May Interview).
[2] Mid-Missouri Council of Governments, *Policy; Housing Assistance Plan* (June 1976) (n.p.).
[3] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, Dec. 7, 1977 (hereafter cited as Brown Interview); Gary Hamburg, interview in Boonville, Nov. 10, 1977.
[4] Rev. R.E. Andrews, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977; May Interview.
[5] Brown Interview.
[6] May Interview.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Sam Morris, interview in Boonville, Mar. 16, 1978.

discriminated against blacks; rather it now discriminates evenhandedly against the poor of all races as opposed to the wealthier who can afford bail, attorneys, and the like.[9] Mark Woolridge, the prosecuting attorney, stated that now both the court and his office are fair to minorities, although in years past that was not always the case.[10]

City and county share part of the cost of the activities of the local community action agency, the Human Development Corporation (HDC). The mayor has asserted, "We have too many social programs." He believes that the city is doing as much as it can and resents Federal pressure to have the local government assume responsibility for programs begun with Federal funds. The mayor has stated, "It gets tight to continue to have to make increased commitments and still take care of city functions and needs."[11] The most recent appropriation for HDC, although a slight increase over the previous years, has been characterized by several black leaders as a statement of disinterest on the part of the city.[12]

The county funds a county health nurse. She reported that the service has one full-time health aide who is black and 15 part-time "home-health aides." Ms. Bruce, the county health nurse, reported no racial problems in the operation of her service—whites go to black homes and blacks to white homes.[13]

A senior citizens center that originally had some city support but is now self-financing provides recreation and nutritional services. The latter is federally funded. Blacks receive the home-delivered meals but, according to the center's nutritionist, have been reluctant to use the center or the communal meals available there. The center has attempted to reach out to the black elderly via their ministers.[14] HDC staff believe that elderly blacks are reluctant to be drawn into a setting that is predominantly white and where racial snubs are possible.[15]

The county hospital is also independent of local governments—relying on medicare, medicaid, insurance payments, and fees. There have not been any complaints about discrimination. The hospital administrator reported that he has attempted to encourage blacks to take paramedical training.[16]

The Cooper County Counseling Service is an outreach unit of the Mid-Missouri Mental Health Center in Columbia. It receives some support from the county. The director, Phil Eller, reported that the caseload is roughly in proportion to the population; i.e., 9 to 11 percent black.[17]

The conservative politics of the town (even of persons who support integration) limits the extent of government involvement in service programs. This limitation necessarily has an adverse effect on minorities, since the proportion of minorities at 125 percent of poverty level (47.3 percent of families) is more than twice the proportion of whites (20.2 percent of families).[18] It also has an adverse effect on women whose proportion at poverty level is consistently above the male proportion (40 percent for black males as opposed to 44 percent for black females and 14 percent for white males as opposed to 16 percent for white females—the ratio is total employed and unemployed persons to employed and unemployed persons at 125 percent of poverty level).[19]

[9] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.
[10] Mark Woolridge, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[11] Charles Persinger, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[12] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978; and Bettie Jones, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Jones Interview).
[13] Jean Bruce, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[14] Mary Ruth Gibson, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978; and telephone interview, Sept. 15, 1978.
[15] Jones Interview.
[16] Hugh Arant, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978.
[17] Phil Eller, interview in Boonville, May 19, 1978.
[18] Derived from U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *General Social and Economic Characteristics: Missouri* (PC(1)–C27), tables 124, 128.
[19] Data from Community Services Administration on file in Central States Regional Office.

9. Federally-Funded Programs

Since the Advisory Committee's last report on race relations in rural areas, a vast array of Federal programs has been developed. Moreover, as a consequence of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as amended, and similar provisions in the legislation and regulations establishing federally-funded programs, local governments are under an obligation to ensure equal treatment for minorities. In some programs, such as the community development block grant, local governments are required to ensure that the poor, especially minorities and women, receive service. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Missouri Advisory Committee have commented on the failure of Federal agencies to enforce properly nondiscrimination regulations.[1] The Advisory Committee thus sought information on both the beneficiaries of Federal funds and the extent to which Federal agencies took steps to ensure that minorities and women participated in the benefits.

The two largest grant programs are general revenue sharing (GRS) provided under the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act, as amended, and the community development block grant funds provided under the Housing and Community Development Act's discretionary grant program (discussed earlier). But there have been also smaller grants to the area by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), Department of Transportation (DOT) (highways and airports), and Department of Agriculture (Farmers Home Administration).

Between July 1974 and June 1977, Boonville expended $226,597.61 in general revenue sharing funds within broad priority categories established by the Federal Government. Nearly 23.5 percent ($53,292) of the total expended funds were spent for social services, social development, or health. The balance was spent on city departmental services such as a new fire truck, sanitation trucks, water mains, construction of a new city garage, and park acquisition. This large share to support ongoing municipal services is typical of most cities' use of GRS funds.[2] Some of these expenditures, of course, benefit minorities. In its current plan, the city of Boonville proposes to spend $49,000 to acquire and develop an industrial park. Blacks have complained that these uses of GRS funding benefited city government rather than provided opportunities for blacks and others who are disadvantaged through such programs as summer youth employment.[3] Former Councilman Brown contended that Boonville could issue bonds for the industrial park and use GRS funds for social progress.[4]

The city pointed out that some of its GRS funds, $22,767 (10.1 percent of the total), expended between July 1974 and July 1977 went to support human services programs such as an alcoholism

[1] U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, vol. VI, To Extend Federal Financial Assistance (November 1975); Missouri Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *General Revenue Sharing in St. Louis City and County* (February 1976).

[2] U.S., General Accounting Office, Comptroller-General, *Revenue Sharing: Its Use by and Impact on Local Government* (Apr. 25, 1974), p. 10; and U.S., General Accounting Office, Comptroller-General, *Case Studies of Revenue Sharing in 26 Local Governments* (July 21, 1975), pp. 78, 54.

[3] Rev. R.E. Andrews, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.

[4] Richard Brown, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Brown Interview).

counseling program, senior citizens center, and staff for the local community action agency (Human Development Corporation). Bettie Jones of HDC complained that the most recent grant of GRS funds by the city to her agency was essentially a retreat from supporting low-income minority needs.[5] Former Councilman Brown believed the allocation was an omen that such funding would be reduced in the future.[6]

One black leader believed that an industrial park is needed and might benefit blacks to some degree.[7] Some black citizens were unhappy about the expenditure of funds on a city garage.[8] They questioned the large share of funding devoted to such capital items and reducing the amount available for human services that blacks believed to be of more immediate benefit.[9] At least one white leader disagreed.[10] The Office of Revenue Sharing (ORS) has not received any complaints about the use of GRS funds by Boonville.[11]

Cooper County expended $299,040 in GRS funds for the period July 1974 to December 1976. The bulk of these funds, $279,904 or 93.6 percent, were expended by the sheriff's department and for roads and bridges. During this period, 3.3 percent ($9,995) went to social programs such as medical aid for the indigent and to HDC. In April 1977 Cooper County officials were told by the Office of Revenue Sharing that the county "complied with all Federal revenue sharing requirements."[12] ORS's finding, however, was not based on an onsite review. The Office of Revenue Sharing has not received any complaints about Cooper County's use of GRS funds.[13]

The failure of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Farmers Home Administration to do more than paper reviews in Boonville and Cooper County is noted in an earlier chapter.

Boonville has received grants totaling $28,161 from the Department of the Interior (DOI), Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, to pay half the cost of a municipal swimming pool and the development of a park. The balance has been provided from GRS funds.

The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) provided $253,085 for work at the municipal airport. (This funding was supplemented by $20,000 in State of Missouri funds.) LEAA and DOT provided smaller grants.[14] Neither the Department of Transportation nor LEAA has conducted Title VI reviews. The extent of civil rights review by delegated State agencies is unclear. All Title VI agencies report there have been no complaints received about federally-funded programs.[15] The Advisory Committee staff observed that citizens generally did not know where to go to get information about Federal programs and where to register complaints.[16]

Boonville and Cooper County County each have one CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) public service employment program worker provided by the State-administered program. Neither of these workers is black.[17] These CETA positions are reviewed by the U.S. Department of Labor as part of the statewide program.

The Mid-Missouri Council of Governments (MMCOG) is an important intermediary between the local governments and Federal demands for equal opportunity. The council provides review under the provision of Office of Management and Budget circular A-95. MMCOG also provides comprehensive planning information for the eight-county region. But, perhaps most important, the council provides technical assistance to its members by writing proposals required by Federal regulations and administrative services needed to administer some grants. The staff notes that the organization can do no more than advise; it cannot order its members to do anything.[18]

As of December 1978, the 13-person staff of the council included no minorities. When questioned about this by HUD, MMCOG stated they had made

[5] Bettie Jones, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.
[6] Brown Interview.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.; George Buckner, interview in Boonville, May 17, 1978 (hereafter cited as Buckner Interview).
[9] Buckner Interview; Brown Interview; and Bettie Jones, interview in Boonville, Dec. 8, 1977.
[10] Robert Herfurth, interview in Boonville, May 16, 1978.
[11] Angela Jones, telephone interview, July 14, 1978 (hereafter cited as Jones Telephone Interview).
[12] *Boonville Daily News*, "Civil Rights Commission Begins City Investigation," Dec. 8, 1977.
[13] Jones Telephone Interview.
[14] Gary Hamburg, letter to staff, Sept. 26, 1977.
[15] William Massey (FAA), July 11, 1978; James Bailey (DOT), July 11, 1978; Barbara Difilippo (LEAA), July 11, 1978; Roger Maxwell (DOI), July 11, 1978; Ray Wilson (Mo. Highway Dept.), July 11, 1978; and Wayne Gross (Mo. Natural Resources), July 11, 1978, telephone interviews.
[16] Field investigations in Boonville, weeks of Nov. 7, 1977, and May 15, 1978.
[17] Data on file in Central States Regional Office.
[18] Jim Hettinger and D.R. Preston, interviews in Jefferson City, June 29, 1978.

good faith efforts to find minority staff persons for each vacancy, without success.[19]

The council's most important effort to date that directly affects equal opportunity has been in housing plan development. As part of the planning process, the council's governing body adopted a resolution stating its intent "to support and encourage local units of goverment in their efforts to adopt and enforce fair housing regulations." The staff of the council circulated a model fair housing ordinance for consideration by its members. Less than half of the council members had adopted the proposal or its equivalent by March 1978. (Neither Boonville nor Cooper County had done so.) The council has also been involved in local efforts to satisfy Economic Development Administration requirements that 10 percent of contractors and subcontractors under the Emergency Public Work Act must be minority-owned and operated businesses.

In its report on Title VI enforcement, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that, generally speaking, enforcement was weak or nonexistent.[20] There have not been onsite reviews that would verify that Title VI assurances have been carried out in Boonville and Cooper County. What provision of services has been made for minorities has been entirely dependent on decisions taken at the local level. The limitations of these efforts have not been questioned by the granting agencies.

[19] Robert Simmonds, executive director, letter to Gary D. Ulican, HUD Office of Regional Community Planning and Development, dated June 19, 1978.

[20] *The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974*, vol. VI, pp. 756–817.

10. Conclusions

Thirty years ago John Dollard wrote of a permanent and unchanging caste system in a southern rural town. Twenty years ago Professor E. Franklin Frazier wrote of the reluctance of the black middle class to demand equal opportunity. Ten years ago, the then president of the Rural Sociological Society, Professor A. Lee Coleman, wrote that blacks in rural areas must work within a more conservative tradition than their urban counterparts. Although Boonville is not the 1930s small southern town nor are its black citizens as timid as their 1940s counterparts, some of the traits described by these scholars remain imbedded in Cooper County life in the late 1970s.

Blacks are well represented on Boonville's city payroll and on its boards and commissions. Until recently they were well represented in the ranks of elected officials. But there is a suspicion, not limited to the black community, that there are limits beyond which white citizens will not permit black politicians to go. Indeed, with the defeat of former council member Richard Brown, there is no black leader to represent the interests of the black community on the city council. Blacks are also unrepresented in county government.

So long as more black families than white families are in need of housing assistance, open housing alone will not ensure equality of housing opportunity. While there have been no formal allegations of discrimination in public housing or in the community development block grant program, concerned officials from social agencies in Cooper County have indicated that some of the housing needs of the disadvantaged remain unfilled. Neither Federal nor State agencies have conducted onsite reviews to identify and suggest solutions to potential problems.

The schools are formally desegregated and have been for over 20 years. However, many blacks believe discrimination remains. Despite a black student population of 12 percent, the district has only one-ninth the number of black teachers it had prior to desegregation (one art teacher). The sincerity of the district's efforts to find black applicants has been questioned.

Employment opportunities for blacks in Cooper County in 1978 are certainly greater than they were in another mid-Missouri county, Audrain County, in 1963. But with the notable exception of the city of Boonville, blacks are still not well represented in the work forces of local employers, especially in upper-level positions and the highly prized clerical jobs.

Affirmative action in Boonville remains informal. "Word-of-mouth" recruitment and informal hiring procedures remain the rule. Nowhere is the effect of these practices more evident than in the county government where there is only one black employee on the county payroll—a janitor. Other employers, such as the local banks and the U.S. Postal Service have not done any better. The common explanation that blacks prefer to work in Columbia or other nearby areas remains untested and unconvincing.

Discrimination in the provision of city or county services is past history. Some citizens complained that too little is allocated by the city or the county to agencies such as the Human Development Corporation (HDC) that attempt to remedy the social and economic consequences of past discrimination. The Federal Government has not monitored local gov-

ernment's commitments of Federal funds, and neither has the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments felt the need to urge greater efforts.

Most of the white leaders interviewed believed that race relations in Boonville are harmonious; that blacks are treated equally in the schools, in housing, in consideration for jobs, in the provision of city, county, and federally-funded services. Their view is shared by some blacks for whom the system has proved beneficial. But others would contend that passivity is not a measure of contentment.

Inevitably the charge will be made by local boosters that the Missouri Advisory Committee's report has negated much that Boonville has accomplished and has caused harm to race relations there.

The foregoing report, while critical of official inaction, is not an indictment of the town and its surrounding county. The Advisory Committee has been careful to point out progress in race relations where it has observed some. The city has progressed considerably, the county considerably less.

The Advisory Committee has tried to be even-handed, testing with equal scrutiny allegations made by blacks as well as whites. It attempted to reflect the current racial situation in the light of the information it was able to elicit. But because Boonville and Cooper County are run almost exclusively by whites, the burden of improvement must rest disproportionately with them.

Another source of irritation may derive because the report has been written from a minority perspective. Typically, communications flow in only one direction: from the dominant establishment to whomever it wishes to contact. Too little opportunity to react is afforded the powerless, especially the minority community. This report is a small effort to right that imbalance. It is the Advisory Committee's hope that a major result of its report is a white leadership more sensitive to minority concerns and a better structure for constructive, two-way communication. Toward that end, the following recommendations are made.

11. Findings and Recommendations

Race Relations

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee noted that the literature on race relations in rural areas emphasizes the inhibitions against effective communication between blacks and whites, based on fear of reprisal for speaking out. In Cooper County, the Advisory Committee found that although there have been some avenues for communications, these avenues were haphazard and largely ineffective. Some black leaders reported more open dialogue with the city on race problems. When the city council had a black member, two-way communication was enhanced. While black and white clergy meet, they do not sponsor any regular dialogue on local issues. There was no evidence of any regular communication between the black community and county officials.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges that the city of Boonville and Cooper County establish a human relations council composed of citizen volunteers from all elements of the community, staffed by personnel from the city administrator's office and jointly financed by the city and county.

Housing

Finding No 2: The Advisory Committee found that the proportion of black families needing housing assistance was greater than their proportion in the population. According to some blacks and some Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) officials, the public housing program's management needs to be strengthened. The public relations difficulties were apparent. The city has made a positive effort using community development block grant funds. The city has not passed a fair housing ordinance nor has the county passed a fair housing resolution.

Recommendation No. 2a: The Advisory Committee urges that the Boonville Housing Authority seek technical assistance from HUD and the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments to remedy deficiencies in the Boonville public housing program. A HUD management audit should be conducted and its suggestions implemented. The housing authority should ensure that the whole range of housing services is available to all who need them.

Recommendation No. 2b: The city of Boonville should pass the Mid-Missouri Council of Governments' model fair housing ordinance and the county should pass a fair housing resolution.

Schools

Finding No. 3: The Advisory Committee found that the Boonville schools were desegregated. But it found that interracial communication was a problem. There were suspicions in the black community that black students did not get equal treatment. The school system admitted that resolution of some of the problems may require the addition of black staff and greater sensitivity to the needs of black children.

Recommendation No. 3a: The Advisory Committee urges the school system to make a far greater effort to hire black teachers. This may require going beyond the traditional recruitment sources to southern colleges and universities that train black teachers.

Recommendation No. 3b: The Advisory Committee urges that school authorities establish an effective

communication network between the schools and the black community. This network should be used to prevent suspicions of discrimination and increase black parental participation in the schools.

Employment

Finding No. 4: The Advisory Committee found that some employers have adequately utilized blacks at all job levels, but most have not. Too great a reliance was placed on "word-of-mouth" recruitment and informal hiring procedures, a potential violation of the law.

Recommendation No. 4a: All jobs should be advertised and notices sent to community agencies to ensure that blacks are informed of local employment opportunities.

Recommendation No. 4b: All employers should compare their work forces to the local labor force to ensure that the absence of blacks in many job categories is not caused by discrimination. Where discrimination is found, goals and timetables should be developed.

Recommendation No. 4c: Hiring and promotion procedures of all employers should be formalized to ensure that blacks are not denied job opportunities because of institutional discrimination. Such steps are particularly necessary in county government in the light of its poor record as compared to Boonville and the county hospital.

Public Services

Finding No. 5: The Advisory Committee found that, partially as a result of past discrimination, blacks in Boonville and Cooper County did have significant needs for social and economic services. So far only community development block grant funds have been targeted to those in real need.

Recommendation No. 5: The Advisory Committee recommends that the allocation of Federal funds, such as general revenue sharing, for the needs of minorities, women, and the poor should be increased.

Finding No. 6: The Advisory Committee found that citizens generally did not know where to turn to find what are permissible or impermissible program uses of Federal funds and what civil rights obligations grant recipients can be required to observe.

Recommendation No. 6: The Advisory Committee recommends that the Mid-Continent Federal Regional Council hold forums around the State, especially in small towns, to inform citizens about Federal programs and to publicize information concerning Federal agencies with toll-free telephone numbers for complaints and information.